

pride," he writes. "They were not rubes. They were not manipulated" (5). Finally, with his focus on the Klan's loathing of Catholics and immigrants, and his assertions that most Klan victims were those whom readers would today regard as white, Madison combats the always prevalent belief that the 1920s northern Klan was principally anti-black.

*The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* joins a handful of recent volumes that have reinvigorated the scholarship on the second Klan, including *Ku Klux Kulture: America and the Klan in the 1920s*, by Felix Harcourt (2017) and *The Second Coming of the KKK: The Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s and the American Political Tradition*, by Linda Gordon (2017). Whereas those volumes explored the second Klan at a national level, the selling point of Madison's contribution—particularly for readers of the *Annals of Iowa*—is its direct focus on the development and meaning of the group in one midwestern state and on the delivery of a genuine statewide analysis. "The Ku Klux Klan is best understood at the regional, state, and local levels," Madison writes. "Although it was a national organization. . . most members joined, believed, and acted at lower levels" (3). In the view of this reader, Madison provides an outstanding model for the examination of the Klan in other midwestern states and beyond.

An important and welcome feature of the book is the two extensive galleries which include a wealth of images that is simply unheard of in recent decades. Gallery 1, for instance, spans 61 pages (23–84) and showcases a map of Klan chapters, photographs of burning crosses and marching Klanspersons, and images of Klan brochures, paraphernalia, and parades. Gallery 2, though a "mere" 19 pages (155–74), highlights images of later phases of the Klan in the post-World War II period as well as images of the African American victims and opponents of this later Klan. These well-selected images, particularly in such profusion, add emotional impact and, coupled with the clear and powerful prose, make *The Ku Klux Klan in the Heartland* a particularly valuable text for use with undergraduate students. The book deserves a wide readership.

*Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation*, by Kristen Kobes Du Mez. New York: Liveright, 2020. 356 pp. Illustrations, notes, index. \$28.95 hardcover.

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The support of Donald Trump by 81 percent of white evangelicals in the 2016 presidential election will occupy scholars for decades, perhaps generations, to come. How can a movement, the Religious Right, which purports to champion “family values,” endorse a thrice married, self-confessed sexual aggressor, especially by such an overwhelming margin? Preliminary explanations, advanced by pundits and scholars, range from moral indifference and judicial appointments to the rhetoric of victimization and unbridled hatred of Hillary Clinton. *Jesus and John Wayne: How White Evangelicals Corrupted a Faith and Fractured a Nation* provides one of the more thoughtful and compelling early analyses of this conundrum.

The author, Kristen Kobes Du Mez, a graduate of Dordt University who now teaches at Calvin University, takes readers on a rollicking ride through the history of American evangelicalism in an attempt to argue that “a nostalgic commitment to rugged, aggressive, militant white masculinity serves as the thread binding [evangelicals] together into a coherent whole” (4). The author contends that the evangelical effort to “re-masculinize” Christianity predates the Scopes trial of 1925, which is certainly correct, but she dates those efforts to the muscular Christianity movement of the 1910s, when in fact it reaches farther back into the nineteenth century. Billy Sunday, an Iowa native and professional baseball player, embodied these pugilistic characteristics, and Du Mez traces this line of male heroes through Billy Graham to John Wayne to Barry Goldwater (and, somewhat improbably, Pat Boone) to Ronald Reagan, the swaggering anticommunist, and Oliver North.

Undergirding this parade of masculine evangelical heroes, Du Mez argues, was a drumbeat of evangelical female submission, epitomized by Marabel Morgan, author of the bestseller *The Total Woman*, and reinforced by Phyllis Schlafly and such evangelical demigods as Mark Driscoll, James Dobson, John Piper, and Bill Gothard, whose notorious “chain of command” placed women firmly under the control of male authority figures. Throughout, evangelical leaders used military language to describe the Christian life, which was understood as a battle against the forces of, well, whatever the leaders deemed inimical to their worldview. Reagan’s frequent evocation of John Wayne played to this hyper-masculinization within evangelicalism, which was frequently coupled with denigration of both women and feminism. As Du Mez notes, white evangelicals overwhelmingly backed Clarence Thomas over the testimony of Anita Hill, who they saw as “representative of the corrupt and conniving influence of modern feminism” (145).

The narrative, as I say, is a rollicking ride and a compelling one at that—so compelling that it would probably be churlish to suspect that

characters like Driscoll or John Eldredge might be fairly marginal or to question whether, given the evangelical aversion to Hollywood in the middle decades of the twentieth century, Wayne himself played as central a role in this mythology as Du Mez asserts. She also misses the opportunity to loop Promise Keepers, the most recent iteration of muscular Christianity, back to the origins of these impulses.

Such cavils aside, however, the author presents a very credible argument, and Du Mez is at her best when she turns her attention to the 2016 election and the evangelical embrace of Trump. "Evangelicals were looking for a protector," she writes, "an aggressive, heroic, manly man, someone who wasn't restrained by political correctness or feminine virtues, someone who would break the rules for the right cause" (253).

Du Mez opens the final (and best) chapter by pointing out that when evangelicals use the term "family values," they refer to a militant, hierarchical, hyper-masculinized, anti-feminist vision of family life. "The evangelical cult of masculinity links patriarchal power to masculine aggression and sexual desire," she writes; "its counterpoint is submissive femininity" (277). And then, in devastating detail, the author ticks through a litany of sexual abuse among evangelical leaders, a rogue's gallery of patriarchal martinets, enablers, and abusers: Gothard, Roy Moore, Ted Haggard, Andy Savage, C. J. Mahaney, Doug Wilson, Paige Patterson, and many others.

The narrative Du Mez presents so persuasively not only helps to explain the odd marriage between Trump and white evangelicals; it also catalogs the damage to evangelicalism and the country. "When it came to evangelical masculinity, the ideological extreme bore a remarkable resemblance to the mainstream," the author writes. "The militant Christian masculinity they practiced and preached did indelibly shape both family and nation" (294).